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COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

SPEECH OF REV. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

We make room for the following exceedingly interesting speech, made by Dr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, at the annual meeting of the Kentucky State Colonization Society. Like all the productions of its distinguished author, it is marked with originality, clearness, largeness and profoundness of view. We think if the popular mind, or even our statesmen generally, could be made to view the question, so momentous for good or ill to our country, from the commanding standpoint of Dr. Breckinridge's address, more thought and wiser counsel would prevail. The excellence of the speech will more than reconcile our readers to the space it occupies in our columns.

THE BLACK RACE.

Some Reflections on its Position and Destiny, as connected with our American Dispensation. A Discourse delivered before the Kentucky Colonization Society, at Frankfort, on the 6th February, 1851.

BY ROBERT J. BRECKINRIDGE.

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society of the State of Kentucky:

It is now just twenty years since I was required to deliver a discourse in this place, upon the same subject which is to occupy our attention at present, and on the invitation of the same Society whose annual meeting we now celebrate. That occasion, like this, had been preceded by a great agitation in the public mind, upon topics of vast importance, connected with the position and destiny of the black race in this country, and therefore connected, more or less, with the question of their colonization. In that agitation, as in the one through which this State has very lately passed, it was my lot to hold and advocate opinions which did not commend themselves to a majority of the people. Now, as then, having proved myself faithful to my convictions, I shall prove myself faithful to the commonwealth. It is for the whole people to lay the great principles of the social state: it is for the smaller number to acquiesce: it is for all together to work out harmoniously the common destiny, upon the established principles of the government, and it is for all to commit to an overruling Providence the accomplishment, in his own good way, and his own accepted time, of his own great designs—ready alike to obey his call, or to be still at his command.

From a period still more remote than that I have just stated, this Society has stood by its great work, and borne, from year to year, its faithful testimony. Perhaps no series of public discourses can be found, proceeding from a succession of abler men, or replete with more profound instruction, than those which have been delivered here during the last twenty-three years. The changes of that long period have been very great and most affecting, and they admonish us in a way to which we ought to give heed. But the principles of our great cause cannot change, and the spirit which prompts our devotion to it ought to survive all changes; the spirit of a wise and earnest philanthropy, laboring upon principles which it would seem impossible for a good man to disapprove—to accomplish objects at once beneficent and immense—and to accomplish them by means which great experience has shown to be effectual in themselves, and free from all just objection. The course of remark which I propose to myself on this occasion will, I trust, suggest to you some additional considerations supporting this broad view of the subject, and illustrating the greatness and the goodness of the cause of African colonization.

The unity of the human race must be considered a fundamental and an accepted truth. Every department of knowledge has been searched for evidence, and all respond with a uniform testimony. The physical structure, constitution, and habits of the race—the mode in which it is produced, in which it exists, in which it perishes—every thing that touches its mere animal existence, demonstrates the absolute certainty of its unity; so that no other generalization of physiology is more clear and more sure. Rising one step, to the highest manifestation of man's physical organization—his use of language and the power of connected speech—the most profound survey of this most complex and tedious part of knowledge, conducts the inquirer to no conclusion more indubitable than that there is a common origin, a common organization, a common nature, underlying and running through this endless variety of a common power, peculiar to the race and to it alone. Thus a second science—philology—has borne its marvellous testimony. Rising one more step, and passing more completely into a higher region, we find the rational and moral nature of men of every age and kindred absolutely the same; those great faculties by which man alone—and yet by which every man—perceives that there is in things that distinction which we call true and false, and that other distinction which we call good and evil; upon which distinctions and which faculties rests at last the moral and the intellectual destiny of the entire race; belonging to us as men, without which we are not men, with which we are the head of the visible creation of God. So has a third science—the science which treats of the whole moral constitution of man, embracing in its wide scope many subordinate sciences—delivered its testimony. If we rise another step, and survey man as he is gathered into families, and tribes, and nations, with an endless variety of development, we still behold the broad foundations of a common nature reposing under all—the living proofs of a common origin struggling through all—the grand principles of a common being ruling in the midst of all. So a fourth, and the youngest of the sciences—ethnology—brings her tribute. And now, from this lofty summit survey the whole track of ages. In their length and in their breadth, scrutinize the recorded annals of mankind. There is not one page on which one fact is written which favors the historical idea of a diversity of nature or origin; while the whole scope of human story involves, assumes, and proclaims, as the first and grandest historic truth, the absolute unity of the race. And then, mounting from earth to heaven, ask God—the God of truth—and He will tell you, that the foundation truth of all His work of creation and of providence, is the sublime certainty that our race was created in His own image, and of one blood; and thereupon, when they had fallen, he offered to them a common salvation, through his only begotten Son, made manifest in their common nature!

Most pregnant and most practical is this great truth. A common origin and a common nature must, in common circumstances, produce a common development and a common destiny. That the development and the destiny of every portion of our race have not been in all respects similar, is therefore to be attributed to the diverse circumstances which have attended the career of the different parts of it. There was in all the same original capacity to be elevated with the highest; the same original liability to be sunken with the lowest. A long course of fortunate events may develop a condition of greatness and glory, while a long course of misfortune may produce a terrible degradation. But the loftiest has no guarantee against decay, and the lowest are still capable of being redeemed. Dangers common to humanity for ever impend over us, and glories for ever beckon us to arise from the dust. A bond of common brotherhood unites every portion of the race; it is felt the most keenly by those who are the most exalted; and, even in the most abject, its weak pulsations still live to attest the depth of the truth, that our race is one. It is in the life and doctrine of Jesus Christ that this profound instinct of human nature finds itself exalted into one of the grandest truths of religion, and invested with the peculiar sanction of Heaven. In him, the conception of this universal brotherhood which nature teaches, and all knowledge fortifies, becomes a precious, living truth.

The reality of immense diversities in the condition, development, character, and destiny of different portions of our race, must be accepted as a truth, even more obvious than its unity. Those diversities seem to extend to every thing that is consistent with the idea of that unity. Nothing but that impassable barrier is proof against the force and variety of their manifestations. They have had their origin at a very early period of the existence of the race. The most powerful causes, physical, social, and moral, have conspired to produce and to perpetuate them. We cannot hesitate to pronounce these causes in many respects constant, and their effects established. And these effects become causes themselves of many subsequent events in the fate of nations, and produce consequences the most momentous and enduring. It is easy to comprehend that a race originally one, must have passed through circumstances very different as to different portions of it, and that these circumstances, whatever they may have been, must have operated with a constant and immense force, to produce such differences in their physical and moral condition as we find exhibited all over the earth. And it is not more difficult to perceive that these differences, when established, become the fruitful source of other, and, if possible, still more important consequences. It is not, perhaps, so obvious, yet it is not less true, that all these diversities would, under similar circumstances, be re-produced, even if we could now obliterate them all; and that, therefore, the only part of wisdom is to accept them as they are, and make all our efforts to ameliorate the condition of the human race proceed on this unquestionable truth. We need not doubt that in the course of human progress, and under the divine administration of a gracious Providence, all these things will turn to the furtherance of what is good; and that in the grand consummation of all that progress and all that providence, every portion of our race will be assigned to that portion of our earth, and led to that destiny, which are the best and the highest for it. It is thus that the diversity, as well as the unity of the race, becomes a most fruitful truth; and the efforts of the most advanced portion of it, for the benefit of the most sunken—America for Africa—precisely in the mode which recognizes at once that we are one, and yet that we are different, is the true and the complete solution of the vast problem, and of our duty under it. It remains for us to do that duty, in all its fulness.

The course which has been run by those great classes of our race into which the learned, with more or less accuracy, have divided it, and the achievements and the fate of nations composed of one or other of them, may be considered the inevitable result and exponent of those peculiar circumstances which took them, one after another, out of the great common brotherhood, and made them what they were. The strong, the active, and the sagacious—the brave, the earnest, and the wise—whatever made them thus, were thus made as the condition of their triumph; and being thus made, their triumph over the timid, the weak, and the ignorant—whatever made them timid, weak, and ignorant—was just as sure, from the beginning, as it is this day. In the struggle of nations—without the marvellous and unusual interpositions of God—the race is to the swift, and the battle is to the strong; and that all the more certainly in a state of being, where God's curse is upon man, and upon the earth, and upon all its products; and the sweat of the brow and the sweat of the brains are the only remedies in a case where the principle of population is boundless in its power, and the production of bread lies in comparatively narrow limits. Then follows the process of fructifying the earth with human blood. The end of that is, confusion and sorrow, ruin and despair—the shadow of death—and the sum of all, endless slavery!

National independence, viewed from the summit on which we stand, may strike the beholder as a thing easily won and kept. The nations have found it much otherwise. Far the larger part of the history of mankind is a record of the subjugation of races and states, successively, by each other. And probably the independence which we prize so highly could not be maintained for a single day, if the tyrants of the earth were able to subvert it. It is good for us to bear in mind—and it may quell many an evil passion—that the abiding condition of our national independence is, to maintain a strength equal to that of all our enemies united. So, too, from the lofty eminence on which we are placed, personal freedom may appear to us the simplest and the surest result of every proper social organization. The human race has not found it so. It has desired to be free—it has deserved to be free—it has struggled to be free; nay, to be free has been the object of its most fixed desire, of its highest desert, of its fiercest struggles. But yet it has not been free. To preserve a perfect equality of rights, and to preserve those rights perfectly—which are the two conditions of civil liberty—and at the same time to recognize and maintain that inequality of condition, which is the inevitable result of the progress which liberty itself begets—this is the grand problem which the nations, after so many ages, have not yet solved, and, therefore, are not yet free. To preserve our national independence—to secure our personal liberty—to advance in the career of civilization—this is what we are doing. But we should bear in mind, how many have tried and how few have succeeded in the same career; how long, how peculiar, and how fortunate was our previous training, both personal and national, for these great attempts; and how serious are the dangers which still threaten us.

Not a few of these dangers connect themselves with that black race about which this Society concerns itself, in a qualified manner—for a portion of which it is endeavoring to establish a national and a free existence on another continent; the servitude of another portion of which, in our own country, makes so conspicuous an element of our social state; and the degraded condition of the third, and larger portion of which, scattered over immense portions of the earth's surface—either in slavery or in the first stages of social existence—presents such a deplorable feature of our common humanity. An immense race, embracing an eighth part of the human family—a race doomed, through far the greater part of recorded time, to general degradation and personal servitude; long outcast from the family of man and from the great common brotherhood. Now in this grand era of the world, its destiny is bound fast to ours, and, in some sense, is to be solved with it. The feeble parasite has found, at last, a clift of adamant, to which it may cling. Can the Anglo-American bear through in triumph, not his own destiny only, but that of the black race also? It is a notable question, and a notable conjunction of many acts of God and man has brought it about.

The topics, into the bosom of which the preceding deduction has fairly brought us, are far too great and numerous to be treated fully on an occasion like this. I shall, therefore, content myself with noticing, generally, such only as are of special interest at the present moment, and as bear more or less directly on the designs of this Society. I have to regret that exact statements on those points, touching which statistical facts are of great value, are at present impossible, in consequence of the returns of the national census taken during the past year not having been, as yet, digested and published. It is of necessity, therefore, that the principles discussed, and the facts involved, must be stated generally; though I am sensible that this must detract from any value these remarks might be supposed to possess.

The negro race was brought to this continent at a period almost as early as the white, and continued to be brought here, legally, for a period of nearly two hundred years, and clandestinely for some years after their importation was prohibited. At the adoption of the Declaration of American Independence all the thirteen colonies tolerated negro slavery. At that era, the African slave-trade was in full operation, and no civilized nation condemned it, while most of them participated in it. Of the thirteen States which formed the old confederacy, and all of which tolerated slavery, six continue to tolerate it, and seven have abolished it. Of the eighteen States admitted into the Union since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, nine are free States and nine are slave States. Of the present thirty-one States composing the Union, fifteen are slave States and sixteen are free States. Of the seven original States which abolished slavery, each one did of it its own accord, and by its own act. Of the nine free and nine slave States admitted into the Union, each one was so admitted by act of Congress, composed of senators and representatives elected from all the States in the Union, at the respective periods of their admission. In the mean time, the foreign slave-trade was abolished by act of Congress, above forty years ago, and as soon as the Federal Constitution permitted it to be done. During this period of seventy-five years, counting from 1776, almost the entire class of free blacks in the United States has come into existence, having been created by voluntary manumission, in the slave States, and by general manumission, by public authority, in those States that abolished slavery. It is probable that the greater portion were set free voluntarily in those States which still tolerate slavery, as considerably the larger portion of the free negroes in the United States have always resided in those States. The entire colored population of the United States may be estimated at about one tenth part of the absolute population—the free portion of the negro population at about one fifth part of that race, and about one-fiftieth part of the whole population. It is probable that above three fifths of the entire population of the nation live in the free States, and the remaining two fifths, or somewhat less, in the slave States; and that the slaves constitute not far from one fourth part of the entire population of the slave States. I repeat that these estimates, made in advance of the returns of the census of 1850, may not prove exact, though probably not far wrong. A remaining fact of great significance, belonging to the period I am running over, is the attempt, by means of African colonization, to plant the germ of a real nationality in the bosom of this black race—an attempt now persisted in with great tenacity, and much success, for above thirty years.

This comprehensive statement exhibits the position of this great question of the black race, as it touches our American dispensation, at two eras, seventy-five years apart, and also the movement of it during that long period. It leaves no doubt of the reality and the tendency of an immense progress highly favorable to that race, yet faithful to the high destiny of the country itself, and to the public obligations, in the faithful observance of which that glorious destiny is involved. The slave States have permitted their citizens to manumit many thousands of slaves; and in this manner many millions of dollars have been given up by masters, through motives of humanity alone. Seven States which once tolerated slavery have abolished it, by the unquestionable exercise of their sovereign power. Congress has admitted into the Union more States than originally composed it, leaving to each, at and after its admission, to tolerate slavery or reject it, at its pleasure; and an equal number has done each. With a common consent of the naton, the foreign slave-trade has been prohibited, and punished as a crime against the human race. To crown the whole, a spontaneous movement, as entirely national as any that has marked our career, has manifested and established itself, seeking the removal of the free blacks of America, with their own consent, to Africa, and their settlement there in freedom and independence. And multitudes of slaves, whom their masters do not consider it advisable to emancipate in this country, are held subject to be sent to Liberia, as the means can, from time to time, be obtained for that purpose. These facts, taken all together, and considering their relative dependence—the immense field they cover—the long period through which they have been developed, and their connection with other and immense interests, may be fairly said to establish the existence of a general sentiment, at once moderate in its aims and powerful in its impulse. There are, no doubt, those who demand a different and far more vehement progress—as there are, also, those who assert that a point has been reached already dangerous to the interests of the slave States; and recent events have given to both of these extreme opinions an importance, all the more ominous, as their advocates, who could agree in nothing else, have agreed in a common assault, under cover of them, upon the Union, and the Constitution of the country. We may not, therefore, pass them by in silence.

For myself, I am not only ready to admit, but I earnestly contend, that no question touching the black race in this country, should be allowed for a moment to compromise the far higher and more important interests of the white race in it, and of the country itself. I desire the prosperity of every nation in the world; but, above all, I passionately desire the glory of my own. I earnestly invoke God's blessing upon every race of men; but, above them all, I cherish with devotion and with hope the advancement of my own. I love liberty, and rejoice greatly when the down-trodden recover it, and mourn when its struggles, any where, are defeated. But the liberties of my own race, and my own country, are precious to me out of comparison with all beside. I have never ceased to compassionate this black race, and to labor, in every way that seemed to me proper, for its ultimate redemption; and perhaps the greatest sacrifices of my life have been in its cause. But I frankly admit, that there is no conceivable question in which that race, or any race is involved, for which I would peril, in the slightest degree, the sublime career which is open before my country—much less provoke or tolerate an assault upon the integrity of the Constitution, or the perpetuity of the Union. Never were such hopes set before any people—never was such a destiny offered to any nation, as God has placed within our reach. The contempt of our posterity, the execration of mankind, the abhorrence of endless generations, would inadequately avenge the folly, the disloyalty, and the impiety which could lead us to make shipwreck of such a dispensation. We must not do it—nay, we must not allow it to be done. The nation must be just to every part that composes it. It must forbear, to the last extremity—even when it is right, and the rebellious parts are wrong. We are brothers—we are Christians—and we are free. But the highest duty the nation has to perform, is to avert national ruin. Our glorious institutions have been steeped, from the beginning, in the blood of patriots. Dreadful as the alternative would be, better steep them also in the blood of traitors, than let them perish in utter ignominy.

So far from exasperating these frantic strifes, the friends of African colonization have a peculiar interest in composing them. They know it is not for them to hasten the designs of God; and they are content to await the guidance of his adorable wisdom. They know, too, that all the madness of men cannot frustrate the settled ends of Providence, nor avert those great conclusions whose seeds lie buried in past ages, and whose catastrophe is as inevitable as the stroke of death. They have no interest in exasperating one portion of the country against another, or the strong against the feeble race. It is the gentle and the generous, not the fierce and turbulent emotions of the human soul, to which their appeal lies. It is to solve great and difficult questions, for the common good and the common glory, and, if it were possible, with the common consent—questions which not they, but time, and progress, and the inherent force of events have made, that their great mission addresses its healing labors. If the fair defense of their grand and single aim begets dissensions on other points, the fault is not theirs, but of those who, upon grounds hostile to each other, and all independent of the precise end they have in view, would obstruct their great, beneficent, and patriotic purpose. The exclusive subjects of their labors are the free black race in the United States. Their sole design as to them, is to create out of them a free, civilized, and Christian commonwealth in Africa. To prevent their success, the North is roused upon the plea, that by this means slavery will be more permanently established in America; and the South is convulsed upon the pretext, that by the same means slavery is endangered. And so, opposing parties, forgetting their mutual hostility, jointly attack principles which protect both, and a cause which would bless both, in the same spirit in which they attack the country which cherishes both.

The effect of African colonization upon negro slavery in the United States, is an aspect of the question which could hardly be overlooked. I have just stated that extreme and directly opposite conclusions have been arrived at. It can hardly be fairly denied that the interests, both of the slaves and their masters, as well as the general interests of the country, would be promoted by the removal of an anomalous and unfortunate class occupying the position generally presented by the free blacks throughout America. Nor can it be questioned that many motives growing out of any clear view of the subject are presented to the benevolent owners of slaves, favoring emancipation connected with colonization. That there is any serious probability, however, that the number of slaves in this country will ever be considerably reduced, by means of foreign colonization, or upon such motives alone as arise from that quarter, is not, I presume, believed by many well-informed persons. I have never entertained the opinion that slavery, as an institution, could be shaken by any considerations except those great and absorbing ones which control the human conscience, or dictate with the power of irresistible necessity to the human will. The sense of self-preservation may do it—a clear view of personal interest may do it—a profound idea of duty may do it—the abiding force of religious principle or religious emotion may do it. All these suggestions contemplate its voluntary abolition, by the act of the master, or of the State. There are other modes, fiercer and more effectual—foreign conquest, domestic strife—the combined questions of bread, labor, and population, practically discussed under the usual auspices of famine and pestilence. All these are methods the world has seen often enough to know by rote; and if this Union is dissolved, there are those now alive who may see one or other of them enacted over again. God forefend both that calamity and its cause. So it is—slavery is here—for good, as some profess—for ill, as most believe. For good or ill, it is here beyond the power of foreign colonization to shake its existence, or materially diminish its numbers. The parasite has clung to the wall of adamant—the African is bound to the car of the Anglo-Americ He must bear him through in triumph—he perish with him by the way—or he must d him outright. That car cannot pause to re this doomed connection, any more than t mantine spheres can cease to whee the hand of God, that the planets casual perturbations. Bear him umph—perish with him by the him outright! The good, the bra alone are worthy to ask or to a When idle chatterers are done, let th great parable; and when they make tion, let them settle in the depths of eve and intrepid heart—that if the South will the country, the country will be true to her; if the North will be true to the country, the country will be true to her; and if the country will be true to her destiny, God will be true to her!

Surmounting such questions, our cause extricates itself from dilemmas which belong rather to the country than to it, and which, at the most, involve only one, and that an incidental portion of its ground. Its direct connection with slavery in America, if it has any at all, lies chiefly in this—that the particular objects of its care—the free negroes of America—are each one a proof that slavery in America is in a process of amelioration; and that it affords the means to such as choose to use them in that manner, of a further and real—though possibly slight and incidental—yet if men so please, illimitable amelioration. The mass of slaves in America—considerable in itself, but insignificant when compared with the whole black race—stan

...e rear. If they were forgotten in our es..., it would rob this cause only of one feature ...as grandeur; a feature, I admit, momentous to ...as as American philanthropists and patriots. There are other, and perhaps to all but ourselves, far more impressive features. Here around us are more than half a million of liberated slaves. Yonder, in the great world without, are a hundred, probably a hundred and fifty millions of blacks. There before us is the vast African continent, the original home, and still the seat and centre of the race. Here is our sublime design, to organize a real and enduring nationality, in the bosom of this race, in its original seats. High above all is the cross of Christ—and profusely rich through all, are the hopes of established freedom, where there was bondage before, and exalted civilization where barbarism had reigned.

There is, perhaps, no instance in the history of society, of so small and so unimportant a portion as the free negroes have always been of the population of the United States, occupying so large a share of the public attention. They have, probably, never exceeded the fiftieth part of the entire population of the nation. As a political element, they have never been worthy to be considered. As affecting, in any way, the national wealth, power, or development, their weight is inappreciable; and their increase, by natural propagation, has borne a very low proportion to that of any other class or portion of the people Yet the attention of the benevolent and humane has been long and earnestly directed to them; legislative enactments so numerous and peculiar as to form a distinct code, have been made about them in most, if not all, the States; political and religious parties have made various and opposite principles, relating to them, fundamental points in their very organization; the most violent popular agitations and excesses have been produced in nearly every part of the country, by discussions and proceedings connected with them; and an earnest public sentiment, covering a long track of years, and directed to various objects, has manifested itself in numerous voluntary organizations concerning them, most of which have professed to be, and some of which have been, really national. It is obvious, that to explain such a condition of affairs, there must exist something extremely peculiar in the position of such a class, and its relations to others around it. During more than thirty years the public mind has been earnestly directed to this subject; and surely it has had the means of being informed and satisfied in regard to the great bearings of it. It is not saying too much, to assert that it is informed and satisfied. The mind of the nation can hardly be said to be more conclusively settled upon any question which is still held under discussion at all, than as to the anomalous position and injurious influences of the free black race in America. It is satisfied still further, that most of the peculiar vices, hardships, evil influences, and dangers of that race, are traceable immediately to its anomalous position—are incapable of effectual remedy while it remains unchanged, and that it ought to be changed. This is the deliberate, the general, and the just sense of the American people on these questions. The friends of African colonization, taking the lead in the disseminatton of these great truths, have gradually diffused them through the nation. They made them the basis of their project for the removal of the free blacks, and have constantly urged that this was the true solution of the established facts and undeniable principles involved in the case. Of those who opposed them, some—though fortunately the number is not now very large—have contended that the case admitted of no remedy whatever, and have been content to leave it to be settled as events might determine. Others, constituting a party numerous and intolerant, in several of the slave States, have held the opinion that any remedy, no matter how effectual it might be, or how unobjectionable in itself, must necessarily produce, in the process of its application to the condition of things actually existing, other evils, more serious and unmanageable than those it professed to remove—evils far too serious to be tolerated by the slave States, even for the accomplishment of great good, or the removal of great mischief. A third class, equally numerous, perhaps, with the last, and still more intolerant, constituting throughout many of the free States the most obnoxious and unscrupulous party which has participated in these discussions, has proposed for remedy such a change in the social, civil, and political condition of all American institutions, as will admit the free blacks, indiscriminately and absolutely, to an equality with the whites—drawing after this sweeping revolution a hundred others, as immense, as absurd, and as impossible as itself. These statements exhibit, I think, all the shades of opinion which are held with sufficient distinctness to give character to existing parties, on the great questions of any remedy—and if any, what?—for the condition of the free black race in this country.

Without discussing the principles of any of these parties—the whole of which are hostile to those on which the scheme of colonization proceeds—they sufficiently reveal how the whole subject is com-plicated with the interests and institutions of the ...untry. Although slavery is not a national insti-...d although its existence and its regulation ...ts under the exclusive control of the ...pectively; yet the complete national ...n of it, and the important and somewhat ...ities assumed by the nation, in connection ...recognition, give to the institution itself, ...every thing that can be supposed to affect it, ...ncidentally, a national importance which the ...ole history of the country has shown to be im-...mense—and which recent, and indeed impending events, prove to be capable of becoming, at any moment, eminently critical. So, too—although the existence and regulation of the institution are purely matters of positive law—yet in the very nature of that existence and that legal regulation of it, there exist moral principles, and there are involved moral duties, whose determination is as much religious as it is legal, and concerning which it is no more possible to exclude the action of the Church of God, than that of the civil power. That civil power, which is an institution of God, must determine for itself things appertaining to itself; but the Church of Christ, which is also an institution of God, must in like manner determine things appertaining to it. Where slavery is established and regulated by law, the Church has no other concern with it than it has with all other civil institutions; but it has exactly the same concern with it that it has with other civil institutions—that concern extending to and covering the entire aspects and relations of the subject which are exclusively moral. In the determination of these, as well as of the national relations of the subject, before alluded to, a great and most exciting difference of opinion has manifested itself throughout the country; and, in this aspect, as in the other, calamitous results have occurred, and others still more serious have been threatened. It is from the absolute nature of the subject, wherever slavery exists in any portion of a federal union, or in the bosom of any Christian commonwealth, that agitations and dangers of the kind alluded to are liable to occur; and our plan of colonization, and the considerations it has to suggest, so far from aggravating existing evils, or creating new ones, is, in truth, a remedy for them all—perfectly effectual, as far as it is actually applied, and capable of whatever application men or States choose to make of it. The fury of sectional madness, and the frenzy of religious fanaticism, find nothing in the principles of this great movement to excite or to nourish those frantic passions which, under so many opposite manifestations, have sought one common and diabolical end in the division of all the churches, the hostility of the States against each other, the dissolution of the national Union, and the overthrow of the Federal Constitution.

So far as the existence of the free black race in any part of the country is the occasion of any evil, or the pretext of any wrong, it is capable of a perfect remedy. Let them be restored to their fatherland. If individual charity is not adequate to the object, public munificence surely is. As to them, they have no interest which excuses, much less which can justify a purpose to remain amongst us in their present condition; and all the experience of the past, and every indication of the future, prove that nothing better for them is to be expected here. As for us, it is certain that we have no interest which can be promoted by their continuance in this country, compared to the advantages we should reap from their removal. And surely it cannot be doubted, that every general consideration, exterior to ourselves and to them, points out their settlement in Africa as an event pregnant with unmixed and immeasurable advantage. Hitherto, they have been found willing to emigrate, as rapidly as the means at the disposal of the various societies made it proper or the condition of the several colonies made it prudent to send them. And this may continue to be the case. There are, however, various causes in operation which may beget a different result. In proportion as the public mind has become fixed in the conclusion that they ought to be removed, it has manifested a restlessness at the extreme slowness of the operation, and its past inefficiency in retarding their increase in this country. At the same time, efforts, more or less strenuous, have been made to induce the Federal Government to give aid, or afford facilities to the object, and to enlist the State Governments in direct efforts to promote it. Commensurate with all these things, have been the ceaseless endeavors of our enemies to alienate the minds of the free blacks from us. The combined result of all these causes may some day present a totally new aspect of the subject—one in which the means that might be wisely used may exceed the willingness of the free blacks to emigrate. There are other causes, pointing in the same direction, which cannot be overlooked. While the slave States are becoming more and more reluctant to see any increase of free blacks in them, and, in some instances, showing an inclination to expel those already free; the free States are also exhibiting a more fixed purpose to prevent their accumulation in them. In the mean time, it may be confidently asserted, that in all the slave States which permit the manumission of slaves, persons will be found who will exercise this right, and thus steadily argment the number of free blacks, in a ratio greater than their natural increase. It must be allowed that the absolute prohibition of manumission—which already exists in several States—is an act far more oppressive, both as to the master and the slave, than the removal, by law, even against their wishes, of the manumitted slaves. Considering the whole case, every interest involved requires us to examine more carefully than has hitherto been done, the principles which should guide our conduct, under circumstances which, it seems to me, are to be contemplated as by no means improbable. It has been a fixed principle of all the colonization societies, that any removal of free blacks, in which they participated, must be with the consent of the persons removed; and it is not easy to see how voluntary associations, or limited corporations, such as all of them are, could adopt any other principle. But this does not touch, much less settle the questions really involved. The cause is much more extensive than the societies, and must necessarily increase, even when they decrease. Already the societies have surrendered, in a great measure, the whole control of the matter in Africa, and it has fallen there into the hands of the communities they have established on that continent. In this country, the intervention of the States, or any one of them, may place the domestic aspect of the subject, also, on a new footing. My own belief is, that this will probably occur before any serious impression can be made even in retarding the increase, much less reducing the numbers of the free blacks amongst us. The power of each of the States is uncontrollable over the subject within its own borders. All the States, and especially the slave States, have interests at stake, sufficiently important to demand a public interposition. This should take place, whenever it occurs, in a manner consistent with the character of a great and just commonwealth. The responsibility of the acts to be performed should be openly assumed, and the acts themselves discharged in a manner at once effectual and humane. It is we who are to judge, who are to act, and that for those dependent upon us, as well as for ourselves. And our responsibility for the judgment and the act is far less to the free blacks than to our own consciences, to mankind, and to God. If it is our deliberate judgment that they ought to be removed, let us remove them. Let us so do it as for the common good of all—not sordidly and wickedly, but with a compassion and a conviction as earnest as the force which necessity may oblige us to employ.

The influence of the circumstances which surround us is decisive upon the bulk of mankind. It is only the greatest and the most virtuous whom they do not control. The free blacks, in every part of the United States, and from the commencement of their existence as a separate class, have occupied a position every way peculiar, and certainly not favorable to their general progress. Still, however, while that position has exposed them to many vices and much suffering, and has held out to them most inadequate inducements to high or sustained efforts, it has been attended with certain advantages, which have greatly exceeded those enjoyed during the same period by the bulk of the human race. They have lived by the side and under the shadow of a highly civilized and most energetic race. They have been protected by the freest institutions in the world, and have seen the power and value of that which they have not been allowed to enjoy fully. They have received, as a race, through successive generations, a training by which they have been educated in the great duty and art of sustained toil, which, while it is the elemental curse of humanity, is also the elemental point of all its progress; and they have acquired, to a certain degree, all the arts and trades which flourish around them, as the incidents of a high state of social development. They have possessed themselves, to a certain extent, of that which, in a higher sense, we call knowledge; and it would not be true to say of them, as a race, that they are wholly uneducated. The manners, the habits, the wants, and the attainments of a civilization—low as compared with ours, respectable as compared with the average of the human race, and exalted as compared with the bulk of their own race—have been attained by them. And to crown all, the almost universal belief, and to a considerable extent the practice of the Christian religion has become their heritage, in the house of their bitter pilgrimage. Christ and his gospel are in their midst, far more really and substantially than in the midst of many nations we call Christian. If we will consider these things fairly, we cannot doubt that these people are in a condition, if they were but placed in circumstances favoring such a result, to assume a very different position from any they have hitherto occupied. It was a conclusion eminently reasonable and natural, from such premises, that such a race might be colonized, with the utmost certainty of a great and beneficent influence thereby, upon themselves. The experiment has been made, and has produced, n this sense, more than was promised—perhaps more than was expected. Similar experiments have been made with every considerable race into which the human family is divided, and every part of the earth has been the theatre of these experiments. I think no record exists of any more decidedly successful, or, at a similar stage of it, more hopeful. I believe no instance has occurred in which results more cheering, and apparently more pregnant with further and immense results, have been produced under so many discouragements, with such limited means, and in so short a time; and certainly the progress of no single experiment has been more eminently free from great disasters. We have colonized this race—such as it was—with all the odium which its enemies could accumulate upon its head, and without any attempt on the part of its friends to vindicate or defend it. Silently accepting the character given to it, or, perhaps, too often ourselves testifying too unreservedly to its degradation, our great conclusion has been—let us remove it. We have done so, in sufficient numbers, and for a sufficient length of time, to exhibit clearly the nature of the fruits that will be borne. We have sent somewhat under ten thousand of them some four thousand miles off, across the ocean. Nearly thirty years have been occupied in doing this. We have done it, almost entirely, with our individual resources. We have planted them in their new homes. We have committed to their own hands the administration of their own affairs—the organization of their own social state—the making of their own laws—the establishment of their own forms of government. With the deepest anxiety—yet without the slightest effort to control the result, except by reason—we have watched the progress of our work, as we patiently and steadily urged it forward. Now we turn to our country, and confidently—might I not almost say proudly?—surely I may say gratefully—invite her to look upon it. There are those people—a free and Christian commonwealth, far off on the verge of human civilization; a small, but an enlightened and well regulated state. Industry prospers amongst them; the arts of common life flourish to a degree; commerce is regularly pursued; trade adopts its established laws; agriculture is establishing its conquests. All the social institutions which adorn and bless life, exist on the model they learned from us. Political institutions like our own are established with a cordial and unanimous consent, and admisintered with firmness, regularity, and justice. Schools are established, and the young are educated. Churches are erected to the living God, and Christ's gospel is preached to a believing people. Just, brave, and prosperous in peace and in war, they have followed our great example; they wrong none—they fear none. And now, bound by equal treaties to some of the greatest empires of the earth, they have been received into the family of nations, and their new banner, like another star set in the sable brow of night, flashes along the coast of their father-land! Yes, it is a child of our country!—outcast it may be—but still a child! And the day will come, when it will vindicate, in glory, all that it has won in tears. In this, as in every analogous case, a change in the condition of these men has wrought a corresponding change in their character. The good that is in them finds ample scope for exercise, and adequate motive for exertion; the evil is no longer pressed with ceaseless temptation, and aggravated by a constant sense of wrong. So it would be, as to all their brethren, situated as they once were. And the simple and truthful recital of what has actually occurred, seems to me to present to every benevolent and every enlightenad mind, an overwhelming argument in favor of the similar removal of the whole free black race from the United States. This, at least, is within the compass of our means and our authority—this, at least, every view of our duty, and their interest, would seem to suggest.

In the long annals of the human race, there has never existed a powerful and highly civilized State in those immense and fervid regions which lie under the equator—and which, encircling the globe, and extending northward and southward to the tropics, embrace so vast a portion of the earth's surface. Forty-seven degrees of latitude in the central portions of the earth, covering five sixths of the African continent, three-quarters of South America, the extreme southern portions of Asia and North America, and multitudes of the islands of the sea—amongst them some of the most extensive and fertile of all—have been condemned, since the creation of the world, to be the abode of the ignorant and scattered—for the most part feeble and semi-barbarous—and to a deplorable extent, savage and brutal tribes of men. And yet there was never an era in those protracted annals when the existence of a power of the first class, in any portion of that vast circumference, would not have been an event so decisive in the history of the human race, as to have altered the whole current of their history, and modified the subsequent destiny of the whole race. The grand necessity, this day, of the human family, considered as one great brotherhood—the overpowering want which human progress, considered in its widest scope, this day exhibits, is the reclamation of that immense circumference from the reign of ignorance and barbarism, and the establishment throughout its vast extent of the triumphs which man, elsewhere, has won. If it had pleased God to erect, in the central regions of South America, extending from ocean to ocean, a confederacy like ours—or if he had planted it across the bosom of Africa, under the equator—or if he had made Australia the theatre of its glory; how universal and how immeasurable would have been the influence which would have penetrated and pervaded the inter-tropical world—an influence which must have been felt in some degree by the remotest tribes of men! Alas! alas! what would it not have prevented—what would it not have achieved! The imagination is lost in the contemplation of the magnitude and grandeur of the good which, it seems to us, must have followed—and the heart is smitten with astonishment, as it glances over the unfathomable misery which, it would seem, must have been averted! What a lesson of God's patience, and man's folly!

To us has been reserved a portion of this sublime work, on one of its widest theatres. We have planted a civilized State in Africa, under the equator. We have laid the foundations of an empire, whose priceless heritage is, a free constitution and an open Bible. We have done, by God's mercy, what all past ages needed, but could not achieve. Will our country and our age at last comprehend and complete our work? The central continent of the earth, so long buried in darkness, is at length invaded by the true light. Let heaven and earth bear witness against all who may seek to extinguish it.

There is a surprising grandeur in every result to which this work tends. Each of the great divisions of the human family seems destined to a development, in many respects peculiar to itself; and each one has been led through a pupilage, at once fitted to conduct it to the destiny which awaited it, and to prepare it for it. And this pupilage of nations and races has been painful and protracted in the double ratio of their ignorance and degradation when that pupilage began, and the height and the duration of the renown to which it was to conduct them. Israel groaned in bondage for more than four centuries, and then pined and expired, under forty years of pilgrimage. But Israel crossed Jordan at last—with a nationality the most marvelous that the world ever saw—which has survived through eighteen centuries, without a country or a government, and under a conspiracy of the human race against it. This is a miraculous nationality, and we look not for the like again. But it was, nevertheless, a nationality created, as to second causes, by the events through which Israel passed, and sustained by the hopes which Israel has cherished. And so every nationality is thus created and thus sustained. And so God leadeth every race onward through its own destiny, till the highest summit any portion of mankind can reach will exhibit the combined result of the highest development that each part had attained. Beyond that there remaineth only, that the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of the Lord and his Christ!

The largest, the most enduring, and in all respects the most remarkable example, which history affords us of a race without nationality, and therefore without what could be properly called a distinct civilization, is this black race. And surely the pupilage through which it has passed has been without example bitter and protracted. How much has it not required to prepare it for its final destiny? Shall we therefore say, nothing awaits it? We cannot say this, without contradicting all that is true in detail, or profound in conception, in the history of the past. Let us rather believe, that an exalted destiny may be in the career to which it tends. Unto this are all the testimonies of the past—unto this are all the indications of the present. The principles which are at work throughout the earth can scarcely fail to produce it. The exigencies which control all human things, present a combination which can hardly allow it to fail. Slowly—perhaps remotely, yet inevitably—there appear to await the black race a nationality, a civilization, and consequently a share in the affairs of this world, immeasurably different from any thing it has hitherto exhibited.

To us has been reserved, again, an immense, perhaps a controlling portion of this great work. Our colonies in Africa occupy the central portion of that sea-coast of the negro's fatherland, which, so to speak, faces inward to civilization. Behind them, stretching across the continent, are four thousand miles of fertile territory, inhabited, though not densely, in chief part by the black race, in the first stages of an opening civilization. North and south, for at least a thousand miles in each direction, is also a fertile country, inhabited mainly by the same race, in a condition similar to that already stated. A land four thousand miles long from west to east, and two thousand miles broad from north to south—larger, by far, than the Roman Empire—the home of the black man, and the grave of all his race—now peopled with more than a hundred millions of inhabitants. All things conspire to this great grand result. The State we have planted is precisely so situated as to receive from without and to propagate within the best influences which all other nations can exert. The immense race and the vast continent behind this State, and around it, are placed exactly in those circumstances most favorable to the exercise of all such influences from such a quarter. And the State itself has been created, and will be indefinitely augmented, from those materials, which, of all that existed, are the best fitted for this, as well as for all the other great objects connected with African colonization. It is impossible to avoid the conviction, that such causes must be followed by corresponding results. Already they have manifested themselves, and the native population which has voluntarily sought the protection of the colonists, and subjected themselves to the general control of their laws, is represented to be about twenty times more numerous than the colonists themselves. We have sent out less than 10,000 colonists; but their laws and institutions are respected, and to a good degree obeyed, by nearly 200,000 persons. Imagine a like result—but even in a much lower degree—produced by every 10,000 additional colonists sent out—or, if it be thought more rational, by every 25 years of effort. How manifest is it, that before we shall have removed the mass of our free black population, or before a single century shall have elapsed, a powerful nation will have been created, and the ultimate redemption of the black race in Africa placed on a footing as secure as that on which the prosperity of any existing State rests! Or, if any one thinks proper to do so, let him double, triple, quadruple the time, the toil, and the risk. In the creation of an empire—in the redemption of a race—in the regeneration of a continent—in the consummation of a work whose benefits all nations will reap, and from which no evil can arise to any human being, we can well afford to toil long, to risk much, and wait God's time. We set before our hearts sublime ends; and rejoicing in our day, over such fruits as our works may bear, we point to the luminous track, in which they who are to follow us should tread, and rejoice the more, that they shall reap far more abundantly than we.

The slavery of 2,000,000 of human beings is a question of awful magnitude, and invests all that can be supposed to bear upon it, even indirectly, with an importance which no thoughtful mind can disregard. The fate of 500,000 free blacks, and their posterity for ever, is a matter which no one—and especially no one situated as we are—can lightly pass over. The destiny of 150,000,000 of blacks, concentrated chiefly in Africa, and abiding still in heathen degradation, if not barbarism, cannot be contemplated with indifference by any pious heart. The duty, the interests, the danger, and the glory of our own country, as connected with all these great questions, challenge the consideration of every wise and patriotic man. And the general influence of them all, and the effects of any course we may take in regard to them—all the consequences of all that may befall us, for good or ill, by reason of them—all these things, considered in their bearings upon the career and destiny of the human race, present subjects of inquiry, whose very magnitude oppresses us. The kingdom of God in the world—the salvation of at least the eighth part of the human race, and that a part most peculiarly committed in trust to us—these are topics which ought to lie immediately upon the Christian heart. Now, every one of these thrilling subjects enters more or less into every fair and complete consideration of the question of the black race, and of the cause and claims of African colonization, as bearing upon that question. Surely, they do not err who say, that taken in all its extent, the question of African colonization is one of the grandest and most fruitful which this generation has been required to determine.

Thirty-two years ago—before I had arrived at man's estate—I had occasion to examine this great topic, at the period of its first presentation for public patronage, and before ulterior steps had been very decisively taken. Struck with the grandeur, the simplicity, the completeness, and the feasibility of the great and humane conception, I have never ceased to cherish the profoundest interest and confidence in this cause. I have witnessed all the vicissitudes, all the changes of opinion, all the varying aspects of the question, during those two-and-thirty years, and am somewhat familiar with what has been done, both in this country and Africa, during that long period, and with the public and personal history of most of the principal actors, in all that has occurred. Fortified by an experience of this description, and by the observations and reflections of so many years, I solemnly declare that the more I have examined the principles which are involved, and the more I have observed their practical results, the more has the subject seemed to me to be invested with unanswerable reasons challenging our cordial support, and exalted motives, commanding our earnest sympathy. I deem such a testimony more valuable than any argument from me, and therefore give it. And whatever weight it may be thought to have, deserves to be increased by the fact, that I have never had a constant or an intimate connection with any of the societies organized to promote this cause, and have seen much to disapprove in much that has been done. It is the great cause—and not all the modes of its manifestation, nor all the methods of its advocacy, nor all the acts of its chief managers—that I have vindicated through good report and ill report. And it is that I now avouch, from my inmost soul, to be the cause of justice, humanity, and wisdom—the cause of living hope to a vast and suffering race—the cause of my country's prosperity and renown—and, above all, of my Master's glory!

MISSION AT SIERRA LEONE.—In a recent letter from London, to the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, we find the following in reference to the Wesleyan Mission in Africa:—

A letter of very great interest is from Mr. Decker, *a native* missionary in Sierra Leone. He was one of the many whom the British cruisers *rescued from a slave-ship* on the high seas. He was landed a freeman in Sierra Leone. There he heard the gospel. There he was educated in our institution for training natives. There, too, he has received his commission to preach the gospel. He is now laboring happily in the colony. But now that *the slave-market at Gallinas is closed*, he begs to be sent thither as a missionary. *That colony of* Sierra Leone, *and your new Republic of Liberia*, are, I doubt not, destined, in the providence of God, *to have a prodigious influence on the future history of Africa. You send back a race of negroes who have beheld Anglo-Saxon energy.* We gather in our colony a population fresh from the various countries of Africa, familiar with its languages, and competent, each in the tongue of his own kindred, to go and tell them the wonderful tale which, in that land of their liberation, they have unexpectedly learned. Both the colony under our wing, and the new country springing from your shores, will furnish the natives with ideas of government, commerce, and arts, such as could not readily have been engrafted on them in any less influential contact with evangelized and civilized communities. Oh what a day in the history of man will it be when

hat sorely afflicted continent of Africa shall rise to a condition of safety, peace, and domestic comfort!

COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

NEW-YORK, APRIL, 1851.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW-YORK STATE COLONIAZION SOCIETY.

THE *Anniversary* week this year begins earlier in May than usual. The Annual Meeting of the New-York State Colonization Society will be held on Thursday evening, the 8th of the month. The place of meeting is at Tripler Hall, on Broadway near Amity street, than which none more attractive can be found in the city. Several eminent speakers have been invited, and we may anticipate a meeting of more than ordinary interest. Our friends from the interior are respectfully invited to improve that occasion to forward donations and to call for certificates of Life Membership, of which about *one hundred* are filled ready for distribution.

QUESTIONS RESPECTING LIBERIA.

A correspondent who writes from New-England, making inquiries, proposes a series of questions which, with the replies to them, are inserted as briefly furnishing important and authentic information.

1. What is its form of government?

Ans. A Representative, Republican Commonwealth. See the Constitution.

2. Who are its present officers?

Ans. President: Joseph J. Roberts. *Vice President:* S. A. Benson. *Secretary of State:* B. V. R. James. *Treasurer:* D. B. Warner. *Senate:* Montserado county—S. B. McGill, A. F. Russell; Bassa county—John Hanson, John Day; Sinou county—James Brown, James N. Lewis. *House of Representatives:* Montserado county—E. J. Roy, Esq., *Speaker,* D. C. McFarland, Sion Harris; Bassa county—We find no names on our file; Sinou county—E. Lisles, Charles Henry, S. S. Herring. *High Sheriff:* W. J. Roberts.

3. Which of them are colored?

Ans. ALL; there is NO WHITE MAN in Liberia.

4. How are the officers appointed?

Ans. As among us; partly by election, partly by executive nomination.

5. How long since the colony was commenced?

6. Who have been its principal officers?

7. Who of them colored men?

Ans. The first vessel left New-York February, 1820, thirty-one years ago. The first settlement at Cape Messurado, named Monrovia, in April, 1822. The first written Constitution was adopted in 1825. The Governor *then a white man,* all the other officers black; and so it was afterwards till 1842, when the present President, J. J. Roberts, was appointed Governor. During all this time, twenty years, the Colonization Society's Agent was *ex-officio* Governor. These Agents were as follows:—

From 1823 to 1828, Rev. Jehudi Ashmun.

1828, Major Randal—six weeks. *Died.*

1828, Dr. J. B. Andrews—six months. *Died.*

From 1828 to 1832, Dr. Mechlin.

From 1833 to 1835, Rev. J. B. Pinney.

From 1835 to 1837, Rev. Dr. Skinner.

From 1839 to 1841, Thomas Buchanan, Esq.

From 1837 to 1839, between Dr. Skinner and Thomas Buchanan, the colored Vice Governor, chosen by the people, conducted affairs. After Mr. Roberts had been four years Agent, and therefore Governor, the Independence of the Republic occurred by advice and with the consent of the Colonization Society, and Liberia is now an independent nation.

8. What is the state of agriculture and the mechanic arts?

Ans. I would refer you to Mr. Gurley's Report, just published by order of the United States Senate, and only say that agriculture is yearly becoming of more importance. Hitherto and for some time to come commerce has given the quickest return for labor, and will continue to until the number of settlers becomes greater in proportion to the native population. The latter are to the former as fifty to one.

9. What provision for schools?

Ans. The poverty of our emigrants, the need of public buildings, &c. &c., have up this time induced the religious societies furnish the principal means of instruction, and have also led the people of Liberia to rely upon them for this support. But the leading minds in the colony are deeply impressed with the importance of universal education of natives and colonists, as you may see by referring to the message in the New-York *Colonization Journal,* February number, and in Mr. Gurley's Report, before referred to.

10. What schools are in progress?

Ans. I suppose in all over thirty. Of these the *four* most important are:

The Episcopal Mission School for colonists at Mt. Vaughan, in the Maryland Colony.

The Alexander High School at Monrovia, supported by the Presbyterian Missionary Board. This has an iron school-house, a large library, a series of class-books, English and Latin, and a philosophical apparatus; and will, if prospered, hereafter be raised to the rank of a college. The two teachers are fine men, both colored; but a young theological student, white, now at Princeton, is expecting to go out early to become Principal of it.

The White Plains Methodist School, up the St. Paul's river, under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The School at Bassa.

11. How many pupils in attendance?

Ans. I have not the means of answering, but presume in all the schools, there are not less than 600 scholars.

12. How many colored persons have been sent to Liberia?

Ans. To Liberia proper, 7,160; to the Maryland Colony, 800; total, 7,960.

13. How many the last year?

Ans. Five hundred and five.

14. What religious societies already established?

Ans. Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Friends.

15. Where situated?

Ans. In *all the fourteen Liberian towns,* and in *some native villages.*

16. What ministers and other religious teachers?

17. How many of them are colored?

Ans. All the ministers and teachers are colored men, except two attached to the Episcopal church at Cape Palmas, in the Maryland Colony. Some of them are men of talents and eloquence; and all of them hold what are denominated orthodox evangelical views of religious truth. About two thirds receive support from religious societies in America.

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

THE present number of the *Colonization Journal* is chiefly occupied with four articles. On the first page we have the able address of Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D.D., which alone is worth to our readers the price of the *Journal* for a year. Several articles on the subject of the emigration of the free colored population to the West Indies, occupy most of the fourth page. This subject has frequently been proposed and discussed, and there is a serious movement of the British Government on the subject at the present time which meets with some favor, not only from a portion of the colored people, but by the *National Era,* at Washington. We rejoice that even in a modified manner such sensible views of their true interests are entertained and disseminated by so influential a paper among the free colored people and those who possess their confidence. The able correspondence held between a British agent and the late Judge Wilkeson on this subject in 1840, will perhaps assist in settling the question of relative attractions between Liberia and the West Indies, and is inserted for this purpose.

With this array of facts it seems impossible but that, without any purpose of coercion or force, our Legislature will be persuaded of the benevolence and humanity of that policy which seeks to facilitate a voluntary emigration of our free colored population to Africa.

The fourth article is chiefly important as illustrating the pleasure with which certain parties in England, who have many sympathizers in America, seek occasion to detract from the credit of the people of Liberia. If steady legislation and consistent action, all in one direction, during thirty years, will not weigh down a *mere* naked *dictum* unsupported by proof, such as this contained in the work of Captain Forbes, then is consistency of conduct of less value than we were wont to suppose. No British officer has a right to make such a charge unsupported by proof. The only instance given by him as corroborative of his assertion, is the case of a certain kept mistress of some licentious British officer on the Guinea coast, and as it to render this disgraceful truth (if it be a truth) less distasteful to the British self-complacency, the valorous Captain includes the people of Liberia in the charge of slaveholding. It is to be presumed he knew what would please his readers and wrote accordingly; but if his book ever gets to Liberia, he will doubtless be branded as he deserves as a wholesale calumniator.

From the Journal of Commerce.

"DAHOMEY AND THE DAHOMANS."

MR. EDITOR:—I hope the length of this article will not deter you from giving it an insertion, or at least the substance of it, in the Journal. It is easy to express a slander in a few words, which it may require a volume fairly to disprove.

The line of argument I have pursued might have been greatly extended, and the quotations increased fourfold.

Liberia, as a government, and as a community, has neither in fact nor law any more slavery than the city of New-York.

VINDICATOR.

I saw with equal pain and surprise, in the letter of your Paris correspondent, an extract quoted from a work recently issued by Captain Forbes, an officer of the English navy, entitled "Dahomey and the Dahomans."

The position of Captain Forbes will give authority to his assertions, unless they are at once met with denial.

He, without reserve, charges slavery as a system existing in the Republic of Liberia, and even calls upon English philanthropists to annihilate the Republic or break up the system.

Now, I undertake to assert, and do assert, that a more *wanton and barefaced slander* has not been published to my knowledge for years.

The case nearest parallel that now occurs to me, was the attack made upon the Sandwich Islands Missions by the Russian writer, and his successor, Melville, author of "Typee."

It is a pity that authors who undertake to enlighten the public, do not more carefully investigate the facts, and guard against prejudices either in their own minds or the minds of their informants.

In the present instance, there is not a shadow of apology for the unfounded slander. Captain Forbes, who was on the coast, could have made all needful inquiries, examined the laws of the Republic, and satisfied himself that the lie would be no more palpable, if one were to say that the British West Indies, Sierra Leone, or Guiana, were slaveholding communities, than to have asserted the same of Liberia.

What are the facts of the case? The power of legislating for Liberia was held by the American Colonization Society, from 1825 to 1846. During that period, the fundamental Constitution, from 1825 to 1836, had the following provision:—

Art. V. "There shall be no slavery in the settlement." (Sec. 14th, An. Rep. Am. Col. Soc., 1829.)

In 1839, it was decided to create a Legislative Council in Liberia, and the Constitution was remodelled, submitted to the people, and by them adopted.

In this Constitution, which continued in force until 1846, the subject of slavery is provided for in the following manner:

Art. 20. "There shall be no slavery in the Commonwealth."

Art. 22. "There shall be no dealing in slaves by any citizen of the Commonwealth, either within or beyond the limits of the same" (See Af. Rep. vol. 15, p. 70, 1839.)

The disorganizing doctrines and practices of certain foreign traders relative to the existence of any real government, and right of enacting and enforcing laws in the Colony of Liberia, while connected with the American Colonization Society, came near to subjecting the colony, in 1844, to a bombardment by the British crusers, which was actually threatened, and led to such open violations of custom-house laws as to necessitate a remedy. This, after anxious consultation, was decided to be the establishment of an independent Government by the people of Liberia, with the consent and by the advice of the Board of Directors of the Society. Accordingly a Convention was elected, and by them a Constitution was adopted, July 29, 1847, declaring "the Commonwealth a *free, sovereign and independent State,* by the name and title of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA."

In the Constitution then formed, and still in force, we find the following declarations and provisions are cognate to our theme:—

ART. I.—DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

Sec. 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and among their natural, inherent and inalienable rights, are the rights of enjoying and defending *life* and LIBERTY.

Sec. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic.

Sec. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

The Government being thus formed, President Roberts, with commissioners, visited the United States to receive a formal transfer of the rights of the Colonization Society in the soil obtained by purchase of the native chiefs, and having pleasantly obtained the desired arrangements, he proceeded to visit several European Governments, for the purpose of establishing amicable relations and forming treaties with them.

In the treaty formed with the British Government, and which, having been duly ratified by both Governments, was issued by proclamation in Liberia in April, 1850, we find the following stipulation:

Art. 9. "Slavery and the slave-trade being perpetually abolished in the Republic of Liberia, the Republic engages that a law shall be passed declaring it to be piracy for *any Liberian citizen* or vessel to be engaged or concerned in the slave-trade." (See Af. Rep., March, 1850, page 67.)

This article, and the tenth, give in the fullest manner the right of search to British vessels, specially instructed, not only of vessels bearing the flag of the Republic, but of foreign vessels in the ports of the Republic.

This brief review of the laws and treaties of Liberia up to the present time, settles the question of veracity for Captain Forbes effectually, and proves him a wholesale calumniator. The wickedness of the act is enhanced, from the fact that it is made against a community just attempting to form a character, and whose weakness should have disarmed detraction.

We now proceed to review some of the acts of Liberia and Liberians on this subject, which Captain Forbes ought to have known.

In 1823, before the settlement of Liberia had been formed one year, the native kings, long engaged in the slave-trade, attempted to destroy it, lest it should destroy the slave-trade, and to the number of 1500, made a deadly assault upon it, on the morning of December 2d.

Within four years of that date, the settlers had attacked and destroyed a slave factory at the River Digby, and liberated fifteen slaves; one on Bushrod Island, and liberated 200 slaves; and another at Trade-town, and liberated twelve slaves; and by proclamation forbade the slave-trade on the pains of piracy, on a coast of 150 miles.

In the year 1830, some slaves having escaped from the native tribes of the interior, and taken refuge in the colony, were demanded by their former owners, under threat of war. The colonists refused to give them up; and, as the penalty, had to defend their own liberty by defeating the claimants. The history of the colony had many such events, the statement of all which would make this article too long. Individuals in the colony have redeemed native youth and set them free. In forming treaties, and making purchases of territory, care has in all possible cases been taken to insert clauses prohibiting the parties from engaging in the slave-trade.

As one instance of many, I open the Af. Rep., vol. 16, 1840, page 215, and find a treaty formed by the Governor of Liberia with several Native Kings, viz: King Bromley, King Peter, King Brister, King Willey, Mama Kenzie, in which the 2d Article provides that "There shall be no slave-trading within the jurisdiction of said chiefs, nor shall they have intercourse with those engaged in the slave-trade."

Not to weary your readers, however, I will quote no others, and now offer some British testimony quite as authentic as Captain Forbes. This was published in the Af. Rep., vol. 17, page 331, from a correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle,* an authoritative English paper:—

Captain Arabian, R.N., in one of his dispatches, says: "Nothing has been done more to suppress the slave-trade in this quarter, than the constant intercourse of the natives with these industrious colonists;" and, again: "Their character is exceedingly correct and moral; their minds strongly impressed with religious feeling; their manners serious and decorous; and their domestic habits remarkably neat and comfortable." "*Wherever the influence of Liberia extends the* SLAVE-TRADE HAS BEEN ABANDONED *by the natives.*"

Lieutenant Stott, R.N., in a letter to Dr. Hodgkin, dated July, 1840, says, it (Liberia) promises to be the only successful institution on the coast of Africa, keeping in mind its objects, viz.: "that of raising the African slave into a free man; the extinction of the slave-trade; and the religious and moral improvement of Africa;" and adds, "The surrounding Africans are aware of the nature of the colony, taking refuge when persecuted by the few neighboring slave-traders. The remnant of a tribe have lately fled to and settled in the colony on land granted them. Between my two visits, a lapse of only a few days, four or five slaves sought refuge from their master, who was about to sell or had sold them to the only (slave) factory on the coast. The native chiefs in the neighborhood have that respect for the colonists, that they have made treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade."

Captain Irving, R.N., in a letter to Dr. Hodgkin, August 3d, 1840, observes: "You ask me if they aid in the slave-trade. I assure you, no! and I am sure the colonists would feel themselves much hurt should they know such a question could possibly arise in England. *In my opinion* it is *the best and safest plan* for *the extinction of the slave-trade,* and the civilization of Africa; for it is a *well-known fact* that *wherever their flag flies,* it is an *eyesore to the slave dealers.*"

Captain Herbert, R.N.: "With regard to the present state of slave-taking in the Colony of Liberia, I have never known one instance of a slave being owned or disposed of by a colonist. On the contrary, I have known them to render great facility to our cruisers there in taking vessels engaged in that nefarious traffic."

I could name various instances of their aversion to slavery, which have come under my own eyes. In November last there came into the Cove (Bassa,) two Spanish vessels, evidently slavers, seeking for British arms, ammunition and cloths, for which they would have given specie; yet there was not one colonist to be found who would trade with them.

BENEVOLENCE TO THE AFRICAN RACE.

THE conflict of sympathy and interest, and the disastrous results of these, are very clearly exhibited in the subjoined article. Time and the developments of Providence will, we think, work a universal conviction of the wisdom and beneficence which long ago prompted to the Colonization movement.

To found for the colored race a nationality in the region of the earth marked out for *their home,* (as was Palestine as the *home* of the Israelits,) to have persevered amid obloquy, suspicion and contempt against the greatest difficulties, until their object was accomplished, will we doubt not hereafter secure, as it now demands, for the founders of this enterprise, general praise and admiration. Colonization may yet extricate America from her greatest scourge, and bestow upon Africa the gratest blessings.

Extract from the Puritan Recorder.

The question, as to what course of measures true benevolence to the African race in America requires, has now for a long course of years been one of absorbing interest, and earnest, not to say angry discussion in this country. And it is not easy to determine whether much progress has been made towards the proper issue. But in the meantime, events have been in progress towards a crisis, which will soon press the question to a decision. Many of the free States have been making legal provisions to exclude the free blacks from their soil. Indeed, in the free States, there are conflicting elements of policy. There is on the one hand a *sentiment of deep repugnance* towards the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and a disposition to defend the liberty which the fugitive finds in our territory, and therein a tendency *to invite* in among us, to any extent, the black population of the South. Then on the other hand, *there is in many of the free States an alarm at the increase* of the blacks, and a disposition to *thrust them out, or fence them out* by legal provisions. And *these opposite policies* are developed on the same ground.

Take for instance the State of Ohio. Perhaps no State has had a stronger repugnance to the Fugitive Slave Law, and the interests which that law was made to defend; and no State has gone farther in legislation to break the practical force of that law. It has made a law, requiring the prosecuting officers of the State and counties to interfere in every case of the arrest of a fugitive, and through the *habeas corpus,* to secure to the fugitive a trial by jury. And yet in this same State, there is a wide-spread alarm at the increase of the blacks, and a disposition for strong measures of legislative exclusion. The Convention of Ohio in session the present year for amending the Constitution of that State, have passed by a vote of ninety-four to forty, a provision that no negro or mulatto shall come into the State. Another provision, that all contracts made with such persons so coming in shall be punishable by a fine of from ten to five hundred dollars, was passed by a vote of seventy-eight to fifty-nine.

Indiana, in her Constitutional Convention, has made provision excluding all negroes and mulattoes from settling within her limits, and making void all contracts made with them, and subjecting to fine all persons who employ them or encourage them to remain. Illinois, at an earlier period, has made effective provisions to *prevent* free blacks from finding a home in her. Iowa is legislating in the same direction.

If these measures are prompted by any necessity in the case—a question which we do not undertake to settle—it is a cruel necessity. A man of true wisdom and benevolence would with great reluctance vote for such laws. But we see as a matter of fact, that such a policy is extending in the free States. And the inevitable result will be, that those States that have more of sympathy for the unfortunate race, and refuse to make such laws, will be filled, not with fugitive slaves, but with freemen fleeing from the lash of the law in free States. If many free States make such laws, and the few do not, those few will eventually come in exclusive possession of the blacks. For the remaining whites will emigrate, to avoid the inconvenience of the preponderance of that race.

The present state of things is this: The slave States are legislating in every possible way to crowd out the free blacks into the free States. Foreseeing evils from this, many of the free States are imitating the legislation of the slave States; and the tendency of all this is, to concentrate the whole mass of the free blacks throughout the country into a few of the free States, that have too much benevolence to do the same. When this result shall be brought nearer home, the remaining States will have presented to them a fearful alternative. They must either do the same, or take a voyage to St. Domingo.

Now it is easy to see, that a crisis is here forming, which calls for the exercise of all the wisdom and benevolence that is available for this unfortunate race of people. Something more must be done than is now in progress for them, or great cruelties and disasters will come upon them, and great evils upon ourselves. *We have seen the finger of Providence pointing to colonization, as the only way of escape.* And we are glad to see, that in the same States where the evils are most felt, Legislatures are beginning to look at the subject in earnest. When the State Governments and the National Government take up the work, then it may be done upon a scale proportioned to the necessities of the case.

REPORT OF THE N. Y. STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY, FROM MARCH 1 TO APRIL 1, 1851.

Donations received at the Office. ($304.)

New-York City—H. G. Loomis, $100; A Member of the Brick Church, $5; E. Crary, $20; George Mather, $10; Abraham Van Nest, $50, ... 185 00
Breaker Falls—C. T. Hubbard, ... 2 00
Livonia—From sundry individuals, to complete the Life Membership of Rev. B. G. Riley, ... 20 00

Collections in Churches. ($251 65.)

Brooklyn—O. S. P., Rev. Dr. Spencer, pastor, ... 251 65

Report of Rev. P. C. Oakley. ($166 76.)

New-York City—Mrs. Pinkney, $1; Moulton & Co., $3; Mrs. Hilton, $1; Mrs. Winans, $2; Mr. Latoo, $5; M. E. Church, Greene street, $16 25; M. E. Church, Sullivan street, $7; M. E. Church, Allen street, $62 26; M. E. Church, John street, $16 25, ... 115 76
Williamsburg—M. E. Church, $50; Charles Mesuger, $1, ... 51 00

Donations reported by Capt. George Barker. ($425 00.)

New-York City—Cash, $5; $1; $2; $2; $1; $3; $3; J. H. Townsend, $1; Wm. Worham, $4; J. N. Genin, $3; Wm. A. Wheeler, $5; A. B. Walsh, $5; Palmer Townsend, $5; D. Hadden, $5; Wm. [illegible], $5; Wm. Edgar, $5; J. W. Alsop, $5; Robert Schell, $5; H. Chauncey, $5; A. R. Eno, $5; J. P. Crosby, $5; S. E. Marsh, $5; Wm. H. Smith, $10; George Douglass, $10; John Gihon, $10; Chester Jennings, $10; George D. Phelps, $10; Dr. Wm. Parker, $10; George Bruce, $10; C. N. Talbott, $25; Samuel J. Beebee, $25; Wm. De Forest & Co., $25; Joseph Walker, $20; Wm. Wood, $20; Wm. Douglass, $20; George Douglass, $30; M. L. Seymore, $10; Mrs. L. Rushforth, $1; Daniel Headley, $5; Goodhue & Co., $25; H. & A., $25, ... 425

For Colonization Journal, by Capt. George Barker. ($6 50.)

George M. Clearman, $1; J. H. Brower, $1; Thomas C. Doremus, $1; B. B. Atterbury, $1; C. Sears, $1; C. Clark, $1; Wm. P. Williams, 50 cents, ... 6 50

For African Repository, by Capt. George Barker. ($30 00.)

Hor. E. Paine, $1; Gen. A. Fleming, $1; Mrs. Anderson, $1; Mrs. L. Rushforth, $1; D. Phyfe, $1; J. H. Lester, $1; Mrs. Bethune, $1; C. Bogart, $1; T. C. Butler, $1; A. B. Neilson, $1; J. J. Boyd, $1; Wm. Post, $1; Dr. S. R. Childs, $1; Wm. Warren, $1; J. L. Brower, $1; Wm. Blakely, $1; G. P. Williams, $1; R. H. Roach, $1; C. Miles, $1; Anderson & Raymond, $1; Wm. Neilson, $1; Dr. J. W. Francis, $1; Jas. Donaldson, $1; D. Moffit, $1; Ira Smith, $1; Stewart Brown, $1; Richard McCurdy, $1; S. Curtis, $1; A. Megary, $1, ... 30 00

For African Repository, received at the Office. ($1.)

New-York City—William H. Wilson, ... 1 00

For Colonization Journal, received at the Office. ($9 50.)

Jasper Corning, $5; T. C. Perkins, $1; A. G. Jennings, 50 cts.; Wm. H. Wilson, 50 cts., ... 7 00
Philadelphia, Pa.—B. Coates, ... 1 00
Seneca, N. Y.—Wm. H. Phelps, ... 50
Tompkinsville, Staten Island—J. W. Sterling, ... 1 00

RECAPITULATION.

Donations received at the Office,	$304 00
Collections in Churches,	251 65
Report of Rev. P. C. Oakley,	166 76
Report of Capt. George Barker,	425 00
Colonization Journal,	16 00
African Repository,	30 00
	$1,[illegible] 41

COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

THE *New-York Evening Post* publishes some important official documents respecting a movement in England in relation to the emigration of the free people of color from this country to the British West Indies, the object of the movement being to obtain an adequate supply of labor for the islands. The following is a copy of a circular dispatch transmitted by Lord Grey, Secretary of State, to the Governors of the Colonies :—

"DOWNING STREET, October 16, 1850.

"*To the Officer administering the Government of the Leeward Islands,*" &c.

"SIR :—I have to acquaint you that it has been suggested to me that a desirable class of emigrants for the West India Colonies might be induced to come to them from among the black and colored population of the United States, whose arrival and location, if they choose to come, would, I have no doubt, be advantageous both to themselves and to the colonies.

"I am not aware of any thing that can be done by the Colonial Governments to encourage such emigration, beyond showing a readiness to pass acts giving the privilege of naturalization to any such persons who might come to settle there, and providing that a bounty should be payable on such immigrants, under such arrangements as may be thought desirable.

"I would also suggest, as deserving of consideration, whether laws might not be passed rendering binding, on certain conditions, engagements to pay sums of money which may have been agreed upon by immigrants, although such engagement may have been contracted in America, and while parties were in a state of slavery.

"I have, &c. GREY.

It is proposed that the emigration shall be carried on chiefly by individual enterprise; but such legislation is advised as shall promote it, and the attention of the Colonial Legislature is directed to the following points :—

"1. The settlement of American planters having capital and experience, as well as of colored laborers, should be encouraged by affording them the utmost possible facility in obtaining the privileges of British subjects by naturalization.

"2. With the same object, provision should be made by law for giving legal vitality to engagements entered into by immigrants, previously to their leaving America, to repay money advanced to enable them to settle in the British Colonies.

"3. The Colonial Legislatures should pass laws, similar in principle to those which have been passed in Mauritius and Trinidad, to allow of money being granted from the public revenue to pay for the introduction of immigrants, but providing that all immigrants so brought to the colonies at the public expense should be required, for five years after their arrival, either to enter into yearly contracts to labor, on which a stamp duty should be charged, or else to pay a small monthly tax—the object of this regulation being, both to stimulate the industry of the immigrants, and to obtain from them, directly or indirectly, the repayment of a part, at least, of what they had cost the colony.

"Without any further interference on the part of the Colonial Legislatures than would be afforded by the above measure, the proposed immigration might, it is conceived, be carried on to a large extent, and with great advantage, by individuals, provided this were attempted judiciously."

As a necessary preliminary, measures will be taken to ascertain whether the Government of the United States will make any objection to the scheme.

We have little faith in the efficacy of Governmental schemes of emigration or colonization. The Government of Great Britain has been engaged for nearly fifteen years in the transportation of laborers to the islands, and in all that time the whole number introduced by its efforts has scarcely equalled the voluntary emigration from Europe to this country for one month.

We could wish that the colored people had more of that spirit of enterprise which animates the Anglo-Saxon race, making it the great colonizer and civilizer of the world. In our opposition to all projects of compulsory colonization, we fear we have unintentionally repressed the spirit of voluntary emigration among the colored people. African colonization at an early period took such a form, and was advocated in such a way, as to array against it the hostility of a majority of anti-slavery men. It became in too many instances the ally of slavery, excusing or justifying its existence, setting its face against emancipation, unless connected with transportation, disparaging the free people of color, discountenancing efforts for their elevation in their native land, and finding in proscriptive legislation against them not a fit subject for indignant rebuke, but a reason for their banishment.

These and kindred considerations were enough to decide our opinion against African colonization; but they had nothing to do with the question of the voluntary emigration of colored people. It were well for them had they more of the spirit of self-colonization. They see the white people about them with restless energies, constantly in motion, going from one place to another, from the walks of civilized life to the pathless wilderness, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, seeking all the while to better their condition.

They must become possessed with the same spirit of self-relying enterprise before they can expect to command a respectable position any where. Passive submission to contumely and wrong will degrade and paralyze any race of people. It is no virtue to suffer when we can right ourselves. *The colored people should go precisely where they can live most comfortably, not bearing degradation, when by changing their residence they can acquire respectability.* The Pole who will not crouch under the hoof of Russian despotism, must seek freedom beyond its power. The Englishman, intolerant of the arrogance of a haughty aristocracy; the German, wearied with the dead level of his monotonous existence; the Irishman, disgusted with filth and starvation, abandon the old familiar places, and begin a new life in a new world, where they may realize their highest aspirations; and their example does more for their countrymen whom they have left behind, than a century of suffering and degradation in common with them. *Were we a colored man, we would never rest from our wanderings till we had found a place where our children might grow up into the dignity of a noble manhood, unconscious of inferiority, untaught to bow, except before the face of their Creator.* If degraded in the city, we would flee to the country; if persecuted in one State, we would try another; if without hope in the States, we would pitch our tents in their uninhabited territory.

Let the colored people arouse themselves. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." Let them educate themselves—rely upon themselves—act for themselves—learn to move in concert and emulate the enterprise that is diffusing the Anglo-Saxon race over the world. God helps those who help themselves. Why should they remain still, when the whole world is in motion? Every successful effort at self-elevation, no matter whether made by them in California, Canada, Mexico, or the West Indies, will do more for their brethren in bondage at home, than any amount of meek submission to degradation. *While the white population of Europe is colonizing the United States and Canada, why should not the colored population of the United States colonize Mexico and the West Indies [or Liberia]?* They can be citizens in both, equal in rights and dignity with native citizens; and their intelligence and familiarity with the art of self-government, would soon secure them the ascendency in both countries.

But let the Government keep its hand out of the business. Let the people of Jamaica and the other islands take measures for diffusing in this country correct and ample information concerning the advantages to be secured by colored emigrants in the West Indies. Let them hold out inducements powerful enough to start the tide of emigration. Let our colored people consider the subject for themselves, and, should they think favorably of it, organize bands of emigrants for mutual counsel and protection, aspiring to do for the West India archipelago what the European races are doing for this continent. It is a work worthy of their highest ambition, and it would tend to develop their energy and self-respect. They would then feel as if they too had a mission. No longer passive sufferers, looking to others for aid and protection, they would become active adventurers, relying upon their own strength, trusting to their own sagacity, and commanding the respect of mankind.—*National Era, March* 13.

From the African Repository for Jan., 1840.

BRITISH GUIANA AND LIBERIA.

As the following correspondence relates to subjects of deep interest both to this country and Great Britain, and as there seems to be great misapprehension in the latter country with regard to American Colonization in Africa, we think it proper to publish the following letters, withholding only the name of our English correspondent :—

LIVERPOOL, July 8th, 1839.

JUDGE WILKESON, *Agent of the American Colonization Society:*

SIR :—Your distinguished countryman, Hon. Daniel Webster, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make during his stay here, has been kind enough to favor me with the accompanying letter of introduction to you.

My object in addressing you is to inquire, whether it would meet the views of the American Colonization Society to send free black laborers to British Guiana instead of to Liberia. I think that the former country offers great and various advantages to free settlers of a class competent to perform agricultural labor; and the want of labor is so severely felt in consequence of the indisposition of the emancipated negroes to work *regularly* and *steadily*, that almost any number of immigrants might count with certainty upon receiving immediate and constant employment at good wages, while the fertility of the soil, and the few wants of life beyond food and lodging, render it easy for an industrious laborer to place himself in a situation of comfort and independence.

There is a very faithful statistical account of the country—written, however, before the emancipation of the negroes—to be found in the 5th vol. of "Martin's British Colonies," which work I take the liberty of sending you.

The country resembles very much (if my memory serves me rightly) the sea coast of the Carolinas and Georgia: negroes, therefore, who have been accustomed to field labor in those countries would find very little change in emigrating to British Guiana; and it is from those States that I would expect to procure laborers, as those in the Northern States already receive higher wages as domestic servants, &c., than I could afford to give to agricultural laborers.

The climate of British Guiana is in general salubrious—though the country has, at times, been visited by *severe epidemic diseases during peculiar seasons.*

The advantages which I conceive it offers to free laborers of color from the United States, are—1st. Perfect liberty, unrestrained by any laws but those which equally affect white and black; 2d. Constant employment at good wages, and when sick, medical attendance with proper nursing and care; and 3d. Facility of communication with the United States, should they wish either to return there, or to communicate with friends.

AGRICULTURAL LABORERS are most urgently wanted. Their condition is according to the following tariff, which is copied from a printed form in general use throughout the colony:

Rates of wages per month, plantation—head men per month according to their usefulness and respectability.

Men,	24 guilders,	equal to 8	dollars,	per month.
Women,	24 "	" 8	"	"

Children from 8 to 12 years of age, from 6 to 12 guilders.

The above rate of wages is calculated from the tariff of 7½ hours. Men and women performing beyond the tariff of 7½ hours in the field, to receive extra wages in proportion.

A house, medicine, and medical attendance free of charge. *Payment of wages stopped for days of absence, whether from sickness or any other cause.*

Tools to be supplied, but if *improperly used, injured, or lost*, the amount to be *deducted from wages.*

All wages to be paid on the first of every month. The value of the guilder is equal to one third of a dollar.

The quantity of work required to be done in the seven and a half hours, has frequently been finished in four hours, and can be easily done in six hours.

The negro then has the rest of the day to himself, and can either work for extra wages or in his own provision grounds, for each family have a piece of ground in which to raise provisions, rent free. There is a hospital on every estate, generally the best house on the estate, into which the negroes are received when ill. The kind of labor is the cultivation of coffee and sugar.

Myself and partners own collectively and individually very considerable estates in the colony, upon which, and on others with which we have immediate connection, we could find employment on the terms above mentioned for a thousand effective laborers. I should prefer, however, to try the experiment on a smaller scale at first, with from fifty to one hundred men of good character, and if married all the better. It appears to me that such a mode of disposing of that part of the population, which I believe the landed proprietors and slaveholders of the Southern States would gladly see removed from their shores, would be of advantage to the Society itself, as the expense of sending the people to British Guiana would be less than that of sending them to Liberia, while the philanthropic views of the Society would be carried into full effect by the establishment of the people in a country where they would be sure of being well treated, and of being able to support themselves in every comfort, and of being able to enjoy all the advantages of a civilized community, instead of a savage country like Africa. Should the Society be disposed to entertain the above-mentioned project, and should you give me any encouragement to pursue it, I shall be prepared to afford you any further information you may desire, and if necessary to proceed to the United States, to negotiate the matter with the Society. I shall feel particularly obliged by an early reply to this letter.

Respectfully yours, &c.

P. S.—I should mention, that laws have recently been enacted for the protection of immigrants into British Guiana, which render null all contracts for labor entered into "elsewhere than in the colony where the labor is to be performed," and prohibits any contract from being entered into for a longer period than one year. You will thus see that the spirit of colonial legislation is in favor of the laboring classes. I have lately been in communication with some Germans, who would willingly emigrate to British Guiana, in considerable numbers; but I prefer, if possible, to procure people of color, with whom I do not think Europeans could compete in laboring in a tropical climate.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 9, 1839.

——, Esq.:

SIR :—On my recent return to Buffalo, I found your letter of July 8, accompanied by an introductory note from Mr. Webster. I herewith send you a pamphlet containing the Constitution of the American Colonization Society, by which you will perceive that we are not at liberty to entertain your proposal. I notice that agents have already arrived in New-York from the British West Indies, and are advertising for laborers. Should you think proper to make use of similar measures for the attainment of your object, the country is open to your application. I fear, however, that you would be disappointed of obtaining laborers in this country, as those who are willing to work can obtain much higher wages here than you propose to give, and our free colored people would, I apprehend, be averse to the service you require, as well as the social condition in which they would be placed by the change.

I cannot but regret that the operation of the emancipation act should have proved so disastrous as to compel the proprietors of the plantations to send to other countries for laborers. We look with deep anxiety at the unwillingness of the emancipated negroes to enter into engagements so important to their own welfare and to the prosperity of the communities to which they belong. We hope the these evils, produced, in the estimation of many, by the ill-timed haste with which this measure was effected, may yet be remedied. We confess however, that we are unable to see how this can be done by the introduction of foreign laborers. If foreigners are introduced to eat the bread which is wanted by the emancipated negroes, and to supersede them in their appropriate labor, will not the latter be driven to the mountains, revert to barbarism, become marauders, and thus render themselves obnoxious to criminal process, and to final extermination?

Since you have been pleased to compare the advantages which Liberia furnishes to the free colored man with those offered him in Guiana, and expressed your decided preference in favor of the latter, you will, I hope, indulge me in a few remarks on this subject, and permit me to state some of the reasons why our patrons would not be favorable to your proposal, even if our rules would permit us to enter into such a negotiation. You will excuse me also for alluding to what we consider the policy of the British Government in the colonial department of its empire, and that is, commercial advantage, rather than the elevation of native tribes, and the inferior orders of society.

It appears to us that the relation of the African race to society in the British West Indies must necessarily doom the great mass to a service requiring the exercise of their physical rather than their moral and intellectual powers, and that consequently the culture of their minds will be graduated by the measure of profit to their employers. In this state of things we cannot hope that the British cultivators will desire the high intellectual and moral elevation of the lower and servile classes, as it would necessarily abridge their influence, and threaten in the end to dispense with their control.

The inducements offered by the West India planters to the American colored laborer *principally relate to his physical comfort, and contemplate a dependant and servile condition* in which he will be estimated in proportion to the amount of labor which he performs. But the American Colonization Society, regarding *his moral and intellectual being*, and believing *that nationality of character is indispensable to the highest elevation of the human mind*, have aimed to establish a free and independent commonwealth composed entirely of Africans, on their own patrimonial soil, to give them a chance to rise in the social state, according to their own merits as a distinct people. Everywhere in connection with Europeans, the African, whether bond or free, seems destined to a subordinate and menial condition. If he should even fall heir to the highest blessings anticipated by the British emancipation act, he could never hope to rise to a social equality with his European employers. *But in Liberia he knows no superior, and is influenced by the most ennobling motives of action;* there he cultivates *his own soil*, prosecutes *his own trade and commerce*, administers laws which he himself has made, *and fills the highest offices of Church and State.* All history seems to have proved that there is little chance of the African's doing himself justice in the same society with Europeans. *We despair of it among ourselves.* For aught we can see, their only and perhaps last hope of rising to equality in the social state, and of developing those powers which dignify humanity, hangs suspended on some such enterprise as that in which we are engaged. Certainly there is no other such opportunity now open to the race. Everywhere else they are either in a state of barbarism or degradation. But in the commonwealth of Liberia they constitute a civilized and Christian community without admixture, and there already they begin to show the higher and more commanding powers of man; there they breathe the air of freedom, and enjoy the advantages of social and political equality; and there they know that empire is their own, and may be extended at their option.

As colonizationists we could not, even if it were in our power, be instrumental in putting the free colored people of our country *under the rule and domination of white men*, merely to augment the wealth of individuals, or to increase the commercial importance of a foreign nation, without the prospect of any advantage to themselves by the change. *We prefer to send them where they can be free and equal*, and where all opportunities shall be open to the acquisition of wealth and the highest conditions of life.

I may also add, that in sending our beneficiaries to the British West Indies for the purposes you propose, we should not, in my opinion, satisfy the feeling which prompted and has sustained the scheme of Colonization in Africa, and consequently we should be likely to paralyze that public spirit which is engaged in this enterprise. If we subtract from it the aim of elevating the character, and securing the social and political rights of a people so long depressed both at home and in foreign lands, we shall take away and crush the soul of the undertaking. *I think, sir, that it would be impossible to sustain our Society among the American people for any object less than this. It is not a political or commercial, but a benevolent scheme*, and as such, must have its high and inspiring motives. *It is for the most part a Christian effort*, and will not be satisfied merely with the temporal weal of its beneficiaries. It has still higher and more extended aims. It seeks through the influence of its colonies to introduce Christian civilization among the native tribes. It looks to Africa as an open field, inviting effort for the spiritual as well as the social regeneration of the many millions of her sons and daughters.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Yours very respectfully,
S. WILKESON, *Gen. Ag't. A. C. S.*

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE agitated state of the public mind for some time past upon the subject of slavery in these United States, has given a fresh impetus to the measures proposed by the Colonization Society—a society which has long been before the public, but has been too much overlooked in consequence of other exciting causes which have interfered with its designs. It is believed by those who have impartially examined the subject, that the only door opened whereby the American negroes can be permanently benefited in their social and political relations, must be through the land of their nativity: here they are exotics, whether bond or free; aliens, from causes which no legislation can remedy or custom overcome. In some of the free States they are allowed to locate, but their social and political condition is not what that of a freeman should be; nor can any arguments or sympathy effect any thorough change in these disabilities. The races are antagonistic by nature—no rational man can dispute it. And the idea of placing the blacks upon an *equality* with the whites is all gammon. In this country or any other, where the white race predominates, the negro can never rise to an equality—unless through a monstrosity too revolting to name.

African Colonization, then, is the only radical remedy. It is at once humane, in strict obedience to the organic laws of nature, and a matter of justice as well as policy. What Africa most needs is civilization and the influence of the Christian religion: the former to teach its people the arts of living by labor, the diffusion of knowledge and social morality; the latter to subdue the savage passions, inculcate the principles of divine love, and elevate the intellectual man to the contemplation of the true God. And when we behold the vast emigration from the Old World to the New, it is evident that means are available to transport scores of thousands of free blacks yearly to Africa with the money that is now spent in arguing the subject before Congress and in carrying on the abolition warfare, which is worse than thrown into the sea. Settle the entire slave coast with a civilized colored race from America, and the slave-trade could not be carried on, because it would have no points of egress from the interior, as is at present the case. Therefore by lining the whole coast at all the landing points with an intelligent population, under wholesome laws, and under the protection of Christian powers, this hellish traffic would soon cease.

We have been led to these reflections by an able and candid article from the *Congregational Journal*, headed "African Discoveries—Colonization," for which we bespeak an attentive perusal. Let those who profess so much sympathy for the slave read and ponder the subject—let the Garrisons, Smiths, Chaplins, and free soilers *par excellence*, if the real good of the negro race forms any part of their principles, turn their attention to this only practicable measure which can effect any real improvement in the condition of the expatriated African. It is a platform upon which philanthropists can unite in every section of the Union—where Government can and should assist. We hope the press, the pulpit, and the forum will echo the project through every village in our land; it is a theme worthy of the most exalted talents—a subject at this juncture which should unite the good and philanthropic in one Herculean effort to benefit an unfortunate race, and restore harmony to the American Republic.—*Waterbury American.*

HABEAS CORPUS.

WE rejoice to see, that so far as this inestimable safeguard of liberty, as affected by the law relative to fugitive slaves, is concerned, the Courts in this State, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, have decided the writ must be obeyed. The case of Henry in the city of New-York is strongly illustrative.

Still, as many have perhaps indistinct and erroneous views of the real power of the writ of Habeas Corpus, we subjoin an extract from the dicta of Judge Campbell, showing his view of its nature:

The Judge said: "An application was made to me, and being on its face in conformity to the provisions which the law of the State requires. It was said that the man was not held in custody by the authority of any Judge or Magistrate of the United States. And under such an application I was bound to issue the writ. To that writ a return was made by the Marshal of the United States, that he held the man in custody under a process issued by C. M. Hall, Commissioner of the United States. The Act of 1850 gives commissioners concurrent jurisdiction with Judges of the Supreme Court, in certain cases, and therefore this Act makes Commissioners very important officers. The question is, then, does this Commissioner, acting under the authority of the Act of Congress, stand in such a position? The Court is of opinion that he does, and if such is a right view of the statute, then it is very plain that the party held by this officer must be remanded into the custody of the person who brought him into Court. The law says that it is the duty of such a Court to remand him, if he is held by virtue of the process of the Judge of the United States Court, who has exclusive jurisdiction of the case. If the Commissioner is a judge, and this case is before him in his judicial capacity, and as a judicial proceeding, it is my opinion that the return of the Marshal is sufficient."

From this it appears, that to issue it requires an *oath* that the party is not held in custody by the authority of *any Judge or Magistrate of the United States.* Under an application to a State Court, accompanied by such an oath, the Court is bound to issue the writ. The Marshal in this case made return, that Long was held by process of a United States Commissioner; upon this return the Court was of opinion that "it was very plain that the party (Long) must be remanded to the custody of the Marshal." The law says that it is the duty of a State Court to remand a person if held by virtue of a process of the United States Court, having exclusive jurisdiction of the case. It is manifest from this decision that the Habeas Corpus contains no potent charm or jugglery adequate to *legally* release a fugitive from a United States Marshal. The Habeas Corpus is safe. The Constitutional provision concerning it is safe. The Fugitive Slave Law does not in this respect violate the Constitution, and therefore citizens may submit to it as the Constitutional law of the land.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND ITS REMEDY.

AT Washington, in 1842, a treaty was concluded, by which England, France and the United States bound themselves to the duty of maintaining on the Coast of Africa an armed squadron for suppression of the slave-trade. This stipulation was for five years, but although it expired by its own limitation in 1847, a squadron at vast expense has been maintained there ever since. The statistics show that the only effect of the squadron has been to stimulate the trade by heightening the dangers connected with it. So long as negroes could be bought for thirty dollars on the coast, and sold for three hundred in Brazil, it was useless to oppose obstacles of this nature to the success of a traffic so stimulating to the appetite of avarice.

The fact stands out too in all its appalling truth, that this trade was mainly carried on under the American flag; and that vessels are constantly sent forth from our ports, for the Brazilian market, to be purchased for this express purpose; the plan being to purchase the vessels in Brazil, to be delivered on the coast of Africa. Our Government shielding American bottoms from search, it was only necessary to freight with goods for the purchase and sustenance of a load of slaves, and then sail for the slave coast. Last year there were imported into Brazil 45,000 slaves. In five years, commencing in 1844, there sailed from Rio to Africa 92 American vessels. Of these, all but five were delivered on the African coast. The Brazilian statutes against the trade are a mere nullity—the influence of the Government being decidedly favorable to it.

It being then the case, that this trade is so successfully prosecuted, and that too under the American flag, humanity and patriotism alike demand the agency of some more potent remedy. Aside from the expense of the African squadron, it has been attended with the most inhuman sacrifice of life. The expense is half a million annually to our Government, and this is actually money thrown away.

The only sure remedy is the occupation of the coast of Africa, which end is to be secured by Colonization. Already has Liberia done much to destroy this trade; and within a short time the great slave mart, Gallinas—the synonym of cruelty and rapine—has been purchased and added to the Colony. The plan advocated by Mr. Clay, is the establishment of a line of steamers, partly supported by Government, and designed to carry emigrants to Africa, and open a trade between that continent and ourselves. The withdrawal of the squadron, and the direction of the funds required for support to the support of this Ebony line of steamers, would do more for the destruction of the traffic in slaves than armaments, at one thousand times the present cost. We sincerely hope that this plan may be carried out. We are not strenuous for the details of Mr. Clay's plan, but in its broad features, and most comprehensive policy, so much that is worthy of Legislative sanction, so much that will reflect great glory upon our country.—*Rock. Advertiser.*

J. A. GRAY, PRINTER, 79 FULTON, COR.